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Finkelstein, David

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## Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature

### **The Scottish Printing Diaspora, 1840-1914**

David Finkelstein

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### **Summary and Keywords**

Migration was a key tool for building the social, cultural, and economic infrastructures of the “British Dominions” throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Between 1840 and 1940, an estimated 15 million people left the British Isles for overseas destinations. Such displacement of people contributed both to what scholars term the “imperial diaspora” and the “labor diaspora” driven by economic necessity between 1840 and 1914. Print culture (and its practitioners) was crucial to these diasporas. And members of a highly skilled, mobile “printing diaspora” who could help construct and promote political and cultural identities through the agency of print were, from the outset, high on the preferred occupation list.

Scottish printers were key players in such printing diaspora networks, both locally and internationally: individuals circulated between regional and overseas sites, acting as transmitters of print values and trade skills and becoming central to the expansion of labor interests in new territories. Such international circulation of highly skilled workers played its part in the development of 19th-century Anglophone print economies. Over the course of the long 19th century, either through their own initiative or supported by emigration and removal grant schemes, Scottish printers circulated across the English-speaking colonial world, setting up businesses, engaging in labor and union politics, and creating the print culture infrastructures that sustained social, communal, and national communication and identity.

Sample data drawn from UK typographical union records offer some insight into the extraordinarily high levels of local, regional, and international mobility of skilled Scottish print trade workers during the 19th century. Such peregrinations were common. Indeed, the tramping tradition among skilled artisanal workers was one that dated back several centuries. Part of the so-called tramping system, which organized trade guilds and print trade unions in Britain used throughout the 19th century, it was a means of organizing and controlling labor activity in local and regional areas. The typographical unions in Ireland and Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales) that developed from the midcentury onward encouraged such mobility among union members as a means of monitoring and controlling supply and demand for labor. Tramping typographers also acted as union missionaries, starting up unions in unserved towns along these regional networks and playing key roles as informants, cultural transmitters, and social networkers.

Tramping, though, was only a part of the picture of worker mobility in the 19th-century Scottish printing trade diaspora. Printers participated in a communication and trade network that encompassed and supported skills transfer and personal mobility between printing centers locally, regionally, and internationally. They also were responsible for supporting cultural identities that linked overseas communities back to Scotland. Through them, trade, labor, and cultural practices and values were exported overseas and integrated into indigenous settings. Such migration also facilitated insertion of trade skills into local and general spaces and the transfer of knowledge and skills between incomer and indigenous workers. The various forms in which such identities were effectively supported and monitored shaped regional, national, and transnational flows of Scottish skills and labor traditions throughout the English-speaking world in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Keywords: cultural history, print culture studies, labor history, Scottish composers and printers, print trade unions, migration studies

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## Establishing Migration Contexts

In 1903, twenty-eight-year-old Scots-born Alexander (Sandy) Hossack made a momentous decision. A compositor by trade, he had worked for almost fifteen years alongside his brother James in their father's print shop in Edinburgh, serving his apprenticeship there and helping build up business with the nearby University of Edinburgh community.<sup>1</sup> During that time, he had also become a stalwart member of his union, the Scottish Typographical Association, quietly amassing knowledge and putting together a small amount of savings. It was time to move on, to follow new directions and new opportunities overseas. In May 1903, with help from a union emigration grant, he set sail for South Africa, traveling to Johannesburg, where, over the coming decades, he would work as a compositor and become heavily involved in trade union politics. He became a founding member of the Transvaal Labour Party in November 1904 (a socialist-leaning

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political organization aimed at representing white artisanal labor union trade interests) and served as its first secretary.<sup>2</sup>

Hossack rose to prominence in the national South African Typographical Union (SATU), acting as its vice president between 1911 and 1914, and then as president of the Johannesburg branch in 1920. He would be awarded a Gold Union badge by SATU in 1921 for his services to the South African print trade. Not content with exercises in union management and political leadership, Hossack also threw himself into local activism, negotiating with employers for increases in pay and better working conditions, playing a key role in supporting strategic strikes in 1914 in Pretoria by battling the deunionizing of shop floors, and overseeing and singlehandedly writing and typesetting propaganda material and strike proclamations during union confrontations. Sandy was not the only one in his family to have taken his trade skills overseas: his father, also named Alexander Hossack, having trained in Edinburgh and worked for the small jobbing printers Muir and Paterson on Clyde Street, “lifted” his union card in 1873 to work for a period in Boston before returning to Scotland to start his own business.<sup>3</sup>

The Hossacks were just some of the thousands of English-speaking journeymen printers and compositors who moved across transnational borders to bring their skills elsewhere. Sandy Hossack was also an archetype of the mobile, active, and engaged Scottish printer and compositor who featured in the Victorian print economy. He, like many other Scottish print workers, was highly literate, engaged, outwardly facing, creative, and committed to expanding labor infrastructures and opportunities. Yet the roles individuals like Hossack played in developing transnational print economies during the long 19th century have not been well served in past studies. In part this inattention has been due to the compartmentalization of labor studies within a sociological or economic framework, with investigations focused on the trade infrastructure of a nation, on a single union, or on case studies.<sup>4</sup> Such is also the case with several labor histories documenting the rise of Scottish and English unions and of the skilled compositor, whose focus is on explaining how print unions were organized and what part they played in labor movements of the 19th and 20th centuries.<sup>5</sup> What is missing, as one recent study has acknowledged, are insights into the social and economic conditions of compositors, especially as they relate to conditions at work.<sup>6</sup>

A strange lacuna exists in our knowledge of the industrialized Victorian period and beyond. As Aileen Fyfe has commented, “Historians of the Book have long recognized that there were significant changes in the production and distribution of printed matter in the nineteenth century. In contrast to the voluminous scholarship on the ‘printing revolution’ of the fifteenth century, the nature of these changes remains little studied.”<sup>7</sup> To expand somewhat on that, we have no map of the global nature of industrialized, 19th-century printing activity in English-speaking worlds (or others for that matter), nor is there a clear map of the flow of skills, tools, people, knowledge, and information circulating around global print networks and geographical nodes. The sections that follow attempt to redress this lacuna in modest form, demonstrating how Scottish print

networks were developed across the Anglophone world and through what means such networks enabled transnational trade communication and information flows across space and time.

## National Identity Formations

Benedict Anderson's now overused pronouncement on national identity established the idea of the collective imagined community, partly shaped by a common, shared language inculcated through shared print media sources such as newspapers and books.<sup>8</sup> Implicit in an acceptance of this concept is the assumption that print culture infrastructures supporting its development were unidirectional and effortlessly created: printing presses somehow appeared, technology and colonial manpower to run them were invariably imported into foreign lands, texts were subsequently produced, and, in time, indigenous workers were allowed induction into the mysteries and the art of the printing press, subsequently ushering in an era of self-expression and creative endeavor.

Unpack this, particularly in relation to Britain and its dependencies in the 19th century, when new technology enabled print production to expand exponentially at cheaper cost and more quickly, and you face some interesting questions. What infrastructures and mechanisms underpinned such print culture developments? What cultural values and trade skills were transmitted and embedded in indigenous settings by workers who flowed into and through established and developing territories? And what was transmitted back through "imperial" circuits and networks? Who manned the machines, what skills and talents did they bring to such tasks, and who created the copy and bankrolled the distribution of print in all its forms (from ephemeral to pamphlet, journal, newspaper, and printed book)? What prompted print workers to move about? How did locals and incomers alike deal with each other in such work spaces?

Local printers produced newspapers and formed part of self-sufficient market town print economies, offering personal printing services to local merchants and farmers that small print shops were well qualified to do. A question arising from this point is how did local print economy traditions and forms translate across transnational settings? The period from 1830 to 1914 covers the rise of print unions across the Anglophone world from the 1830s onward, the expansion of letterpress printing technology and consequent employment opportunities during the period from 1840 to 1880, and the transnational extension of print networks that concludes with the outbreak of the First World War. How were print culture structures translated across national boundaries, how were print workers mobilized and organized as the century progressed, and how did shared craft identities, creative endeavors, and trade press publications create a sense of moral community that linked the printing fraternity across space and time?

### Print Trade Unionization

Scottish printers were at the forefront of union activity in the early 19th century and one of the first trade union groups for printers and typographers to seek general organization, with a start in Glasgow in 1817. A more enduring Scottish-based organization rose from such beginnings in 1853 with the founding of the Scottish Typographical Association, which grew into a regional bastion of union activity, expanding from a general annual membership in 1857 of around 600 in five key centers to around 4,700 members in 1910, based in twenty-five Scottish towns and cities.<sup>9</sup> Unions became powerful arbiters in the print workplace, actively lobbying for better working conditions and pay and offering members access to a variety of benefits such as sick pay and unemployment relief.

As the trade union movement in general gathered force from the mid-19th century onward, print union representatives became involved in significant initiatives to improve workers' rights and wages across the printing sector, going on strike in response to local or regional circumstances, circulating news items and information on working conditions, and, through annual congresses, leaflets, monthly journals, and annual reports, seeking to ensure and strengthen communication and practical links with print trade members and other trade unions. Another feature of the printing fraternity was the emphasis on and support for trade mobility and the development of a transnational "printing diaspora" of linked unions and print networks. Victorian print trade unions and benevolent print trade societies were keen promoters of free movement of people, ideas, and skills across the English-speaking world. Scottish printers were key players in printing diaspora networks developed via the unions at local and international levels: individual members circulated between regional and overseas union branches, acted as transmitters of union values and trade skills and became central to the expansion of labor interests in new territories. They wrote letters to colleagues letting them know of their experiences, produced memoirs of their working lives, contributed to trade journals, founded and edited newspapers, and served as cultural connectors locally and transnationally.

### Migratory Workers

Migration was a key tool for building the social, cultural, and economic infrastructures of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Between 1815 and 1930, an estimated twelve million Britons left the United Kingdom for North America, Australasia, and South Africa.<sup>10</sup> During the same period, another seven million Irish emigrated to the United States and the British Dominions.<sup>11</sup> A similar deluge of migrating families came out of Europe: one estimate suggests that between the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 and the depression of the 1930s, over fifty million people left Europe for overseas destinations.<sup>12</sup> Such displacement of people contributed to imperial and labor diasporas driven by economic necessity during this period of extensive movement and change. Print culture (and its practitioners) was crucial to the communication structures supporting such diasporas. And members of a highly skilled, mobile printing diaspora who could help construct and promote political and cultural identities through the agency of print were, from the outset, high on the preferred occupation lists.

The local, regional, and transnational circulation of highly skilled Scottish workers played its part in the development of 19th-century Anglophone print economies. Between 1830 and 1914, supported by travel subsidies and emigration and removal grant schemes, Scottish printers and print union members circulated overseas in great numbers, part of a larger global movement of people and skills. Along with English, Irish, and Welsh colleagues, they moved into British colonial spaces to participate in what has generally been termed “settler capitalism,” setting up businesses, engaging in labor and union politics, and creating the print culture infrastructures that sustained social, communal, and national communication and identity in such territories.<sup>13</sup> Equally there was movement by workers across and between North America, the British Isles, Australasia, India, and South Africa that attested to the globalized nature of print work.

Jobbing printers were called upon to manage production of a complexity of print material, from local newspapers and pamphlets to business cards, labels, greeting cards, and other print paraphernalia. New settlements called for skilled workers who could keep the populace informed and help promote the town to the wider world. Equally, the legal requirement in many emerging settlements that land purchases by individual stakeholders be advertised locally in printed form created revenue opportunities for enterprising printers. Local communities also needed avenues to promote settlement opportunities. A contemporary typographer would recall that “it was not at all uncommon, where no printer appeared to start a newspaper for such a budding community, for the citizens or promoters of the prospective city to assume the financial obligations entailed in order to encourage some member of the craft to set up a press and to give the location publicity.”<sup>14</sup>

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Print represented progress, and local newspapers represented community knowledge and a territorial marking. In Britain, the shift from concentration of print activity in a small number of urban centers to wider, diffuse networks of locally and regionally based jobbing print businesses was equally tangible to those studying the rise of British unionized labor. The labor historians Sidney and Beatrice Webb neatly summarized the results in their influential 1897 study, *Industrial Democracy*, commenting:

The printing trade, on the other hand, once concentrated in half a dozen towns, has to-day crept into every village, the vast majority of printing offices being tiny enterprises of small working masters. The compositor, moreover, has to deal with a variety of employers, from the London daily newspaper or the great publishers' printer, down to the stationer's shop in a country town or the fore man of a subsidiary department of a railway company, wholesale grocer or manufacturer of india rubber stamps.<sup>15</sup>

The mobile printer was an example and representative of expanding labor and trade connections. Their cross-cultural border crossings over the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries supported their roles as connecting and mediating links between economic structures and craft cultures.<sup>16</sup>

## On the Tramp

Printers participated in a tramping system whereby they took to the road in search of work, experience, or new adventures, subsidized by national union networks. Peregrinations of this type were common among trained printers and compositors over the long 19th century. Indeed, these typographers were participating in a tradition among skilled artisanal workers that dated back several centuries. It was part of the so-called tramping system, which organized print trade unions in Britain and elsewhere had adapted from guild traditions and used throughout the Victorian era as a means of organizing and controlling labor activity in local and regional areas. Used throughout Britain and its dependencies, it was also common in other European states, in Canada, and in the United States, a fundamental aspect of print trade work culture that was “critical in both sustaining and spreading it.”<sup>17</sup>

The tramping system as it was practiced in the Victorian world acted as a method of circulating skilled workers across space and time. In Scotland, typographical societies, such as the Glasgow branch established in 1817, included tramping and unemployment relief in their activities. Glasgow's charter noted that its mission was:

First, to provide for such members as require to leave the City for want of employment, without having pecuniary means: Secondly, to furnish, with facility, money to such strangers as cannot find employment in the City; and, Thirdly, to



co-operate with other places in exposing irregular workmen, and maintaining a friendly intercourse throughout the Trade.<sup>18</sup>

Glasgow offered a sliding scale of relief to roving printers: seven shillings if one was a member of a corresponding Society, or five shillings to non-Society members who could prove they were “free of professional opprobrium,” but nothing to fellow Glaswegian printers who were not Society members.<sup>19</sup> Between 1817 and 1830, tramping relief and allowances to support members leaving town accounted for over two-thirds of the society’s total expenditures.<sup>20</sup> Other union branches were founded across Scotland dedicated to similar objectives, and in August 1836, ten of these joined together in the shape of the General Typographical Association of Scotland (GTAS), with leadership from the Glasgow branch. It would last until 1844, when Scottish unions aligned themselves for a period with the Northern Typographical Association. A disastrous strike in Edinburgh in 1847 decimated Scottish union funds and organization, and it would take until 1853 for Scottish print union strength to reassert itself again into forming the Scottish Typographical Association, which proved more enduring in nature.

Until 1844, under the oversight of the GTAS, and in halting form through the next ten lean years of union activity, Scottish print trade branches operated a relief scheme where numbers relieved at times exceeded the total number of union members registered (which in 1843 totaled 700). Between April 1841 and April 1842, it provided relief of £116.17.0 to 819 traveling printers, with the majority presenting membership cards from the Northern Union (339), followed by Scottish branch members (199), London unions (190), the Irish union (86), and other English societies (5).<sup>21</sup> The following year, 755 roving printers were given tramping relief totaling £121.16.2 by nine of the seventeen member branches (Aberdeen, Dumfries, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Kelso, Kilmarnock, Montrose, Perth, and Stirling).<sup>22</sup>

Such support could challenge union branch finances, but by providing support to those on the move or in search of work, such cooperation ensured in most cases that the position of local members was not undermined by unemployed men coming into town and taking situations in unfair houses where the wages were below the accepted standard, or there was an ongoing dispute. “Tramping” was used to manage disputes, with striking print workers being paid to leave town when required. This practice had the dual benefit of discouraging strikebreaking and protecting individuals from victimization.

Unions and trade groups established later in the century in Australia, Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand imported and adapted versions of the British tramping system. As opportunities arose for international print worker migration traversing continents and cultures, such systems required mechanisms to manage complex movements across colonial routes. Trade movements also cut across colonial communication circuits and complicated the standard narrative of colonial and national development. Print workers did not merely move from the center to the periphery (often characterized by British observers as moving from the UK to overseas colonial spaces or from urban print centers

to rural locations), but equally moved between regional circuits and across national borders.

Scots émigrés feature heavily, for example, in Toronto Typographical Union (TTU) membership lists throughout the second half of the century, with over one hundred individuals potentially linked back to Scottish print union membership records. It is difficult, however, to establish exact correlations and intersections between Scottish and Torontonians member listings due to issues such as multiple entries for similarly named individuals and insufficient supporting evidence to establish exact matches. There are a few corresponding matches, such as John Laird, who deposited a Glasgow Scottish Typographical Union card and signed the membership roll of the TTU on September 6, 1859. Listed in the 1861 census of Canada as resident in St. Patrick's Ward, York, Canada West, Laird would remain in the Toronto area for over thirty years, changing his occupation at some point after 1861 to join his brother in becoming a picture framer and gilder.<sup>23</sup> Several decades later, the TTU Account Book for 1908-1909 records recent Scots émigré William Reid depositing his Scottish Typographical Association card (no. R 456) in March 1909, then being invited to sign the membership roll as a full member on May 1, 1909.<sup>24</sup> The same Account Book records James McIlroy, recently arrived from the "Belfast Branch" Typographical Association, similarly joining the TTU on April 13, 1909.<sup>25</sup>

Small regional centers, such as the Scottish border town of Dumfries and other nodal points in the international tramping circuit, were subjected at seasonal times to a large transient population of men as they moved between major print cities. Dumfries was a convenient border point between Scottish and English print centers, serving in particular the heavily trafficked routes between Manchester and Edinburgh.<sup>26</sup> The accounts of the Dumfries Typographical Association between July and September 1840, for example, record a multiregional mixture of men passing through the town, sixteen in total from places such as Belfast, Birmingham, Dublin, Glasgow, Kilmarnock, London, Manchester, Nottingham, Preston, Stafford, Sunderland, and Wigan. For the whole year, benefits were paid to twenty-six individuals, only five of whom were from Dumfries itself.<sup>27</sup> Passersby appear in the records of benefits paid at such meeting points but played no other part in the print economy of the town visited.

Likewise, key British port cities such as Liverpool, Newcastle, and Southampton saw influxes of printers touching down at crucial periods before embarking on overseas adventures. Gold rushes in Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and South Africa in the 1860s, 1880s, and 1890s enticed many to pass through on their way to such overseas destinations. On reaching such exotic destinations, they would either move on quickly or fall back on their composing skills once gold fever had subsided and they had failed to make their fortune panning for elusive ingots.

## Union Communications

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During this period, communication between unions was vital for such matters as confirming the legitimacy of individual membership applications or keeping abreast of local pay rates and work practices. Edinburgh union minutes offer striking examples of information requests and responses from trade counterparts through what was in effect a global union communication network. When John McMannus Jr. sought Edinburgh union entry in August 1853, his application was supported by various documents confirming his apprenticeship record and good character along with a letter from the Halifax union branch “showing the honourable position he held while working there.”<sup>28</sup> The character testimonial helped sway the committee, and he was duly admitted on paying an entry fee of £2. William Pagan’s application to join the Dumfries union branch in July 1857, after a stint in Glasgow, prompted the executive committee to instruct its secretary to “write to the Glasgow Secretary to ascertain how Mr. Pagan left the Glasgow Society, before admitting him as a member of the Dumfries Branch.”<sup>29</sup> Positive responses prompted the committee to admit him to the Dumfries ranks the following month.<sup>30</sup>

Such status verifications between union branches were important for authenticating individual access to membership rights and privileges. But it also highlighted how unions dealt with errant members if they had left owing money for dues or fines. In February 1865, several requests for authentication and character testimonials of former Edinburgh members from London, Manchester, and Liverpool branch secretaries caused the Edinburgh union committee to discuss how best to manage errant union debtors located elsewhere. Until then, debts accumulated by members who had left town had been written off. However, the way such debtors subsequently used their membership cards to gain access to other union branches without penalty suggested this policy needed to change. As the union secretary noted, the recent rise in communications from sister branches had highlighted that “persons were ready enough to refer to their connection with the Society when they found it [to] be their interest in London, Manchester etc, who would have repudiated all obligations thereto had they remained in Edinburgh.”<sup>31</sup> It was suggested that some claim ought to be made against such persons when reference requests were received. Edinburgh members concurred, and after a brief discussion the committee adopted the motion that when a member who had left in debt to the Society was found applying for admission into another union, a note of his liabilities was to be sent to the branch secretary and payment reclaimed. Other unions in turn adopted similar policies, and letters of clearance became standard tools in the process of assimilating new members into local unions.

Testimonials and confirmation of good standing were not the only items to be transmitted through such contacts. Also included were frequent requests for work rates, updates on union actions, warnings of strike break recruitment, and calls for support of other trade actions. A good example involved letters to Edinburgh from the Liverpool union in July 1853 requesting information on piece rates. The details were to be factored into Liverpoolian demands for fair rate increases at a local newspaper press. Shortly after, a recruiter arrived in Edinburgh scouring for scab workers to break the resulting strike at a Liverpool daily paper. News of the recruitment effort was sent back to Liverpool, and a circular was issued across Scotland “cautioning the whole Profession.”<sup>32</sup> As the strike

dragged into September, the Edinburgh branch helped Liverpool insert advertisements in the *North British Advertiser* warning workers against taking up positions in the affected print shop.<sup>33</sup>

## Cycles of Circulation

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, union-sponsored emigration and removal grants enabled union members in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales to circulate along transnational routes as key players in social and trade union networks, setting up businesses, engaging in union politics, and creating the print culture infrastructures that enabled social, communal, and national communication and identification.

Emigration grant schemes sponsored by typographical unions were part of a more general trend of industrial emigration that had started in the 1830s and developed more fully from the 1850s onward. From 1890 through to the 1950s, the Scottish Typographical Association operated a significant official emigration scheme for its members. This scheme overtook local initiatives that had been ongoing for several decades. In its first four years of existence (1890-1893), the scheme paid out £105.16.0 in grants to outgoing members. Funding requests rose significantly after this, peaking between 1903 and 1912, when the union paid out a staggering total of £1626.10.0 in emigration grants.<sup>34</sup>

Such schemes supported skilled journeymen printers seeking work across national printing networks, such as George Mackay, whose obituary notice in the November 1869 issue of the *Scottish Typographical Circular* was accompanied by a long encomium extolling his skills and abilities and commenting on his particularly mobile career in rural and suburban locations, which ranged across Edinburgh, Glasgow, London, and Crieff. “Reckoned a swift and good compositor,” Mackay moved positions several times within towns and across regional borders. The list was extensive, as the following demonstrates:

He had held the situation of overseer in Mr Hugh Paton’s, in the late *Edinburgh Advertiser* office, and in the Glasgow *Sentinel* office. He was afterwards sub-editor of the *Weekly News*; of the Glasgow *Daily Mail*; and, subsequently, of *The Press*, London. He left London for Crieff, where he edited and printed the *Strathearn Herald*; returning to Edinburgh from Crieff, to edit and print the *Scottish Press*. But ever-recurring illness laid him up, and he had repeatedly to relinquish good positions. In his later years, Mr Mackay was in close connection with the press of Edinburgh.<sup>35</sup>

Another Scottish example was William Bradbury, who secured short- and long-term work in England, Scotland, and Ireland between 1885 and 1899. In April 1885, William Bradbury, compositor and journeyman, joined the Edinburgh Typographical Association. An employee of Constable’s the printers, he paid union dues until September 1886, then

left to begin a series of short-term peregrinations between Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and London.<sup>36</sup> This was to culminate in a two-year stint between February 1892 and March 1894 for the printer Thom's in Dublin, where he would also become a member of the Dublin Typographical Provident Society.<sup>37</sup> He returned to Edinburgh in March 1894, reregistering with the Edinburgh union branch and taking up work in the printing firm Neill & Co. It seems he took to the post, as he remained embedded there until at least January 1899, when we lose sight of him in union lists, as he was struck off for nonpayment of dues.<sup>38</sup> William Bradbury's Scottish, English, and Irish migration and mobility patterns, like many of his contemporaries, built on the networks of national unions that took shape in the 19th century. Bradbury's earlier pattern of short-term contracts suggested a peripatetic approach to work, akin to the tramping typographer of earlier years. Unlike the tramping typographer of yore, the migration and mobility patterns of members like Bradbury often saw transfers between recognized centers and secured jobs gained through word of mouth and personal contacts.

## International Circulation

From the 1840s onward, and particularly in the 1880s through to the 1900s, British and Irish print union members proved extraordinarily mobile across international spaces, with many playing key roles in establishing key print establishments or advancing union practices across the English-speaking world. These transnational migrants, wandering typographers, sought work across international borders.

A good example of the cross-border Scottish printer adventurer was John Wilson (1802–1868). An 1868 obituary notice in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, subsequently picked up and reprinted in the *Scottish Typographical Circular*, took note of Wilson's multiregional and international career, which included an apprenticeship in Glasgow, taking charge of a large printing establishment in Belfast, working in Manchester at the *Manchester Guardian* newspaper, then emigrating to Boston in 1846. In Boston, the staunchly Glaswegian Wilson and his son would establish the successful printing firm of John Wilson and Sons. The business would carry on after his death under the direction of his son John Wilson Jr. (1825–1903), also Scottish born and trained. In 1879, through a series of shrewd investments, John Wilson Jr. would take over Welsh, Bigelow & Co., who had been the main printers for Harvard University. Wilson consolidated businesses to form the University Press–John Wilson and Co., and under that imprint over subsequent decades would go on to publish significant titles by Bostonian authors such as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne, John Greenleaf Whittier, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and James Russell Lowell.<sup>39</sup>

## Printers as Settler Capitalists

New Zealand had similar print trade pioneers landing on its shores. New Zealand colonial development in the 19th century was a direct result of British migration, investment, and expansion, as Donald Denoon has pointed out in his classic study *Settler Capitalism*.<sup>40</sup> Many British roving printers became key community members through their participation in the print economy of expanding towns. Taking on such roles in undeveloped frontier towns required stamina and strong communication skills. A good example of such colonial encounters and printers who played key civic roles in extending colonial settlements can be seen in Scots-born Andrew Ferguson's career as printer in New Zealand. Ferguson, born in Dunfermline, Scotland on December 16, 1838, had been apprenticed to the Edinburgh printing firm Thomas Constable. On completing his training, he moved to London to join Smith, Elder and Co., where he claimed to have overseen two "class journals."<sup>41</sup> In 1867, he immigrated to Dunedin to join his cousins Joseph Mackay and John Mackay II in running the daily *Bruce Herald*, an example of "chain migration" in which family and trade contacts smoothed the entrance of skilled artisans into overseas workplaces.

On a subscription drive for the *Bruce Herald* across the Otago region in late 1867, Ferguson visited the town of Lawrence. The town was originally established as Tuapeka in 1861, following the discovery by Gabriel Read of gold in a nearby ridge. Gabriel's Gully, as the goldfield was christened, sparked a gold rush to the Otago region that swelled Tuapeka's population from a handful in 1861 to over 11,500 by 1862. In 1862, it was renamed Lawrence in honor of Henry Lawrence, the British general who gained fame for his role in defending the Indian city of Lucknow during the Indian revolt of 1857.

Lawrence initially was host to a moribund weekly newspaper, the *Tuapeka Press*, started in 1865 by John R. Robb to inform the mining community. In an 1866 letter published in the *Scottish Typographical Circular*, a thirty-year-old Scottish jobbing printer who had emigrated to New Zealand and found temporary employment in the *Tuapeka Press* described its setup and that of Lawrence itself. "The place from which I now write is about seventy miles above Dunedin, on the once famous Gabriel's Gully Goldfields, in the wilds of New Zealand," he noted. "It is a small township of about thirty houses, surrounded by diggers' tents, hemmed in by high hills, and within thirty miles of the Blue Mountains."<sup>42</sup> The general print shop layout was as rudimentary as could be expected in a mining town: "The office is half tent, half house—a rum case-room, I can assure you, from the windows of which we can see the miners at work."<sup>43</sup> Though in Lawrence he faced "a rough part of the country, and a rough life," the roving printer had no regrets in leaving Edinburgh for new experiences in such frontier towns, for "the life of a printer up here is much different from that at home, and I like it as well again, even although the pay were no better."<sup>44</sup>

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The Scots printer may have enjoyed his time at the *Tuapeka Press*, but the newspaper's sparse fare soon had locals agitating for more substantial information sources. Ferguson's conversations in 1867 with Lawrence residents suggested an opportunity to establish a livelier competitor title, buttressed by a jobbing print shop servicing local mining needs. Ferguson pooled resources with two partners, Andrew Burns and John Ludford, and bought old printing equipment from owners of the defunct *Bruce Independent*, which had operated out of Milton. The machinery was transported to Lawrence, where it was installed in a corrugated iron shed that became the temporary base for the business. Ferguson and his partners commenced publishing the four-page weekly *Tuapeka Times* on February 15, 1868.

Ferguson and his companions issued a bold statement of intent in the first issue. Their goal was to create a paper that would guide public opinion, help to maintain a wholesome moral sentiment, and "materially contribute to the making of a district great, and keeping it so."<sup>45</sup> "Our endeavor shall be," the opening editorial continued, "calmly and deliberately to weigh every variety of sentiment which pervades the community, and give an honest expression to that aggregate of thought which is what we term Public Opinion, and the ventilation of what we conceive to be the legitimate function of the journalism of a country."<sup>46</sup>

Such lofty ambitions were nurtured under rudimentary circumstances. To save money, during the early years the partners lived, worked, ate, and slept in the print shop. "We converted a corner of the office into a kitchen and, with the aid of a stove, the apprentice managed, with a little assistance, to cook all we required," recalled Ferguson many years later.<sup>47</sup> At night the divisions between the printing frames were used as dormitories by Burns, Ludford, and an apprentice, with Ferguson bunking down under the counter. Bedding initially consisted of old copies of the *Bruce Independent* that had been used as packing to transport the print equipment to Lawrence.<sup>48</sup> Though the paper was issued weekly, the presses were kept busy with job printing of general items such as handbills, invoices, labels, cards, and forms, and space in the paper was reserved for advertising such services. As the first issue announced in bold letters on the front page, "Ferguson, Burns, & Ludford beg to intimate to the inhabitants of Lawrence and surrounding districts, that, having furnished their Office with NEW AND ELEGANT TYPE, they are prepared to execute every description of ORNAMENTAL, COLORED, AND PLAIN PRINTING, at Moderate Prices, and on the shortest notice."<sup>49</sup>

Newspaper circulation slowly built up, encouraged by much personal lobbying and delivery by horseback to rural subscribers. New owners of the rival *Tuapeka Press* injected an element of competition into the press environment, but by 1869 Ferguson and his partners' acumen and hard work led to them buying out the *Tuapeka Press*, leaving the *Tuapeka Times* preeminent in the field. They would shift premises shortly after. Ludford and Burns's shares in the business were subsequently bought out in June and October 1870, respectively, by Ferguson, who brought in a new partner, John C. Brown, to help run the business. Brown lasted a little over a year before he in turn was bought out

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by Ferguson. Ferguson assumed sole control of the business in December 1871, and in November 1873 he converted the paper into an eight-page biweekly issue.<sup>50</sup>

Ferguson arrived as Lawrence began to develop civic structures and to establish a more permanent town identity, moving beyond stakeholder gold rush circumstances. Over the years he lived there, the township expanded to include a school, a courthouse, a jail and police station, a post office, and other government buildings. Discoveries of quartz and coal created new mining opportunities to compensate for a drop in temporary residents once the initial “gold rush” had died down.<sup>51</sup> With central government support and funding, dams and aqueducts were built to create water reservoirs and channel water through to the township, and after much lobbying, a railway line was built in 1877 linking it via the South Main Line to Dunedin, Invercargill, Lyttelton, and Christchurch.

Among the reforms and initiatives championed by Ferguson in his newspaper editorials and his civic activities were seeking funds to build roads, bridges, and general infrastructure, establishing a fire brigade, pushing for a regulated mining industry, and lobbying for a railway link to the town. He became a key proponent of the local land settlement movement, seeking to release large sheep farming runs for general farming use. New Zealand at the time was gripped by a land shortage available to small farmers, as more than half of all privately owned land was locked up in large sections of 5,000 acres under control of a small elite of 584 owners.<sup>52</sup> Ferguson supported steps taken to establish a land league to combat this situation locally with “the most prominent men of the town and district taking a leading part in it.”<sup>53</sup> “Land for the people, and people for the land” was the motivational statement frequently repeated in his editorials.<sup>54</sup> The move was successful, with several Tuapeka runs eventually being released by the government for sale or lease as workable farmland.

Ferguson took seriously his role in Lawrence as printer, editor and journalist, describing it as one of civic responsibility that at times could be trying and “far from pleasant.”<sup>55</sup> Public documents and local news items hint also at his close engagement with Lawrence’s civic society in other forms: he acted as a witness to wills and an executor of estates; he served as local councilor and ran for mayor in 1874 (losing by four votes); he served as a juror on civil court cases, and in 1879 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for the Colony; and he helped set up a cooperative building society to support the savings and loans needs of local farmers, businessmen, and townsfolk.<sup>56</sup> He would also maintain the cycle of transnational movement by relatives that had initially drawn him to New Zealand, bringing his seventeen-year-old London-born nephew, William Epps, to Lawrence in 1879, where Epps was to spend the next two years helping to edit and produce the paper.<sup>57</sup>

In 1882, Ferguson sold his business interests to local partners and returned to Edinburgh, where he established the firm of Scott and Ferguson, Burness and Co., a specialized print firm employing around eighty people that was an amalgamation of a jobbing print shop and a lithography business.<sup>58</sup> In 1896, the firm was bought out and absorbed into Morrison and Gibb (a well-known local print firm), of which Ferguson remained as secretary until his retirement in 1915. He returned to New Zealand in 1905



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for an extended visit to his old haunts and was touched by a warm, welcoming civic reception hosted in his honor in Lawrence, attended by over one-hundred ex-colleagues and friends. He died in Edinburgh in 1917.<sup>59</sup>

## Overseas Skills Circulation and Union Organization

Skills transfer and civic development were not the only aspects of such migratory experiences. Equally important was the way trade and labor practices and values were exported overseas and integrated into indigenous settings. This was particularly the case when overseas labor forces began organizing more robustly toward the end of the century.

In Australia, the labor movement was materially helped by the expertise of labor leaders who either brought over skills and experience from Britain or, though native born, were highly mobile across transnational networks and borders. By the 1900s, the Australia labor movement was led by two categories of tough-minded, independent, determined, and resourceful leaders: “the pioneers and veterans of ‘the movement’ who were predominantly British in origin; and younger, mainly native-born, men, often in their twenties and early thirties, highly mobile geographically and full of energy, enterprise and initiative.”<sup>60</sup>

A good example of such robust input into Australian typographical union activity was the expansion of the Melbourne Typographical Society between the 1880s and early 1900s, spearheaded by strong-minded Scottish-born union organizers such as Robert Elliott, who brought their knowledge of British trade practices to bear upon Australian soil.

Robert Elliott, born in Hawick in 1864, entered the print trade at the age of 10, subsequently serving a seven-year apprenticeship on the *Hawick Express*. On completion of his indentures, he shifted to Dingwall and then to Edinburgh, where he worked as a compositor for the print firm Turnbull and Spears and then for Morrison and Gibb.<sup>61</sup> Edinburgh records note his presence as a vocal member of the typographical union between 1883 and 1886, following which he “lifted card” for Australia in June 1886.<sup>62</sup> Elliott joined Sands and McDougall as a compositor on arrival, overlapping with John Hancock for several years. In 1893, Elliott joined the Government Printing Office and then moved over to the firm of D. W. Paterson, having been poached by the owner, who had been a foreman at Sands and McDougall.<sup>63</sup> Upon his arrival in Melbourne, he took on significant leadership roles within the union, serving as a member of the Melbourne Typographical Society (M.T.S.) Board of Management, as a member of its executive, as its vice president, as treasurer for nine years, and then as representative of the branch at the Australasian Typographical Union’s triannual trade conferences.<sup>64</sup> In 1909, he was elected the Melbourne Typographical Society’s first organizer and, by driving forward new initiatives and inclusive policies based on his early experiences of union membership and organization, within four years union membership more than doubled from 875 to 1800.<sup>65</sup> He became general secretary in 1912 after an administrative reorganization of

union management, serving in that role until 1921. He would take on other senior roles in the Australian print trade union hierarchy through to his death in December 1931.<sup>66</sup>

In his study of 19th-century Australian labor movements, Neville Kirk notes examples of other foreign-born typographical union leaders who worked in parallel with Elliott and Hancock. One such was Thomas Boreland McKnight, who on his death at the age of 86 in 1912, was mourned by the *Australian Typographical Journal* as “one of the oldest printers in Victoria.”<sup>67</sup> Kirk’s long career encompassed multiple stints on several continents and countries. Born in Scotland in 1826 and apprenticed for seven years at the *Dumfries Herald*, he worked for a period in London on the *Morning Post*, emigrated to the United States in search of work, returned for a stint in Scotland, and in 1853, at the age of 27, took passage to Victoria to seek his fortune in the gold fields. This venture proving unsuccessful, and he made his way to Melbourne where he served time on the *Argus*, worked in various offices as a journeyman printer, served in the union and later ran his own enterprise, proving a model employer in the latter position. The obituary concluded in true labor union style that McKnight had been “a congenial companion, and good unionist, ever ready to assist a fellow-workman.”<sup>68</sup>

Similarly, the Scots-born, Edinburgh-trained compositor Sam Mackie received encomiums in trade press obituaries on his death in August 1912, where his work at the *Ballarat Star* was highlighted alongside his role as a founding member of the Ballarat Typographical Society in 1857.<sup>69</sup> Due to the organizing efforts of Mackie and others, the Ballarat Typographical Society would be one of the few print unions founded in the 1850s to survive the challenges faced during the late 1850s and 1860s by the print trade labor movement. As one chronicler has noted, while other contemporary Australian print unions crashed and disappeared during that period, “The Ballarat Society lived on quietly, keeping itself alive, the only link in time between the societies of the fifties and their first new stirrings in the seventies.”<sup>70</sup>

## Global Print Migration Networks

The interlinked global migration network that supported the movement of English-speaking skilled printers throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries would be shredded by the onset of worldwide economic depression in the 1930s and the impact of two world wars bookending this economic crisis. At the same time, British government social welfare schemes to replace trade-based unemployment relief and sick payment schemes from 1909 onward slowly began tackling the burden and rationale for tramping initiatives previously taken on by trade unions. British print unions finally abolished tramping support in 1913 with a great sigh of relief, acknowledging that such a system was no longer fit for its purpose in a world where “an unemployed member preferred to stay in his own town, with his family and friends, eking out existence on out-of-work benefits and what casual employment he could get, waiting for trade to improve.”<sup>71</sup>

During much of the 19th and early 20th centuries, structured and unstructured migration and skilled print worker movement played their part in shaping global exportation and insertion of print trade skills and knowledge into new arenas. Roving Scottish printers were part of this movement, acting as labor and union missionaries. They started businesses that were central to shaping and directing the print economies of new and emerging communities and towns. They parlayed and passed on their knowledge and expertise to others they encountered in their travels. Unions that emerged in the 19th century developed complex information and support networks to respond to the need for a trade worker movement. They were used to control worker numbers in saturated print centers, to extract workers during strike actions, to support those who could not find long-term work, and to create a union-led global typographical knowledge and skills exchange system. The tramping and migration narratives noted here provide strong insight into how Scottish print trade workers positioned themselves as participants within an international print network of skilled labor. It also suggests that the globalization of work is not a phenomenon unique to the 21st century.

## Discussion of the Literature

The subject of transnational print economies during the Victorian and Edwardian periods is not one that has been fully documented in past studies. In part, this has been due to the compartmentalization of labor studies within a sociological or economic framework, with investigations focused on the trade infrastructure of a nation, on a single union, or on case studies.<sup>72</sup> While there have been several labor histories documenting the rise of Scottish and English unions and of the skilled compositor, these have tended to focus on explaining how print unions were organized, and what part they played in labor movements of the 19th and 20th centuries.<sup>73</sup> What has been missing, as one recent study has acknowledged, are insights into the social and economic conditions of compositors, especially as they relate to conditions at work.<sup>74</sup> A survey of PhD dissertations between 1970 and 1984 related to US printing history found 120 projects issued during that period, of which only three dealt with the trade experiences of print workers.<sup>75</sup> There are some exceptions to this labor organization specific focus, as, for example, Gary Marks's comparative work on 19th-century union politics in Germany, Britain, and the United States, or Mark D. Steinberg's work on Russian printer communities.<sup>76</sup>

Anglophone print culture studies have tended to view print worker lives and activity through the lens of book culture, marginalizing the role of community-based printers as cultural connectors and favoring studies of book printing over coverage of a wider range of printing work that extended beyond books and newspapers to cover jobbing work as diverse as journals, labels, leaflets, newsletters, pamphlets, posters, printed packaging, receipt books, tags, and other commercial material.<sup>77</sup> Again, some exceptions exist, as,

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for example, Isabel Hofmeyr's study of Gandhi's experiment in South African-based printing and Siân Reynolds' study of Edinburgh women composers.<sup>78</sup>

A strange lacuna exists in our knowledge of the industrialized Victorian period and beyond. As Aileen Fyfe has commented, "Historians of the Book have long recognized that there were significant changes in the production and distribution of printed matter in the nineteenth century. In contrast to the voluminous scholarship on the 'printing revolution' of the fifteenth century, the nature of these changes remains little studied."<sup>79</sup> To expand somewhat on that, we have no map of the global nature of industrialized 19th-century printing activity in English-speaking worlds (or others for that matter), nor is there a clear map of the flow of skills, tools, people, knowledge, and information circulating around global print networks and geographical nodes.

## Further Reading

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### Notes:

(1.) Hossack's father, also named Alexander Hossack, is recorded in Edinburgh post office directories from 1887 until 1913 as owner of a small print shop located first at 71 and then at 68 Bristo Street, near the central campus of the University of Edinburgh. See, for example, *Post-Office Edinburgh and Leith Directory, 1887-88* (Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb, 1887), 562. Hossack's compositor son, James W. Hossack, who, with Alex Hossack Jr., worked for several years with his father, created marketing material for the firm: a business card sample composed and printed by James, for example, appears in *The Printers' International Specimen Exchange*, vol. 10 (London: The British Printer, 1889). Hossack died in Edinburgh on March 17, 1914, following which the firm was taken over by Thomas Paris, who had previously worked at Murray and Gibb for several years (union records indicate he had started there in 1888 and was there until at least 1903). See "Statutory Registers, Deaths," ed. Crown Office (Edinburgh: National Records of Scotland, 1914), and "Edinburgh Typographical Society Contributor Records, 1861-1900," in *Edinburgh Typographical Society Records* (National Library of Scotland). The firm subsequently traded under the name Hossack and Paris through Paris's death in 1938. See "Bailie Paris. Edinburgh Magistrate's Death," *The Scotsman*, December 29, 1938.

(2.) British Labour Party records hold correspondence with Hossack between 1906 and 1914 related to the early period of the Transvaal Labour Party: see, for example "Hossack, Correspondence," in *Labour Party Archives* (Labour History Archive and Study Center, People's History Museum: University of Central Lancashire, 1906).

(3.) Details recorded in "Edinburgh Typographical Society Contributor Records, 1861-1900."

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(4.) Useful exemplars include A. J. Downes, *Printers' Saga, Being a History of the South African Typographical Union* (Johannesburg: South African Typographical Union, 1952); Elaine N. Katz, *A Trade Union Aristocracy: A History of the White Workers in the Transvaal and the General Strike of 1913* (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand, 1976); Gregory S. Kealey, "'The Honest Workingman' and Workers' Control: The Experience of Toronto Skilled Workers, 1860-1892," *Labour/Le Travail* 1 (1976); *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, *Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Typographical Union* (New York: Free Press, 1956); and Mark D. Steinberg, *Moral Communities: The Culture of Class Relations in the Russian Printing Industry, 1867-1907* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992).

(5.) Examples include union histories such as Sarah C. Gillespie, *A Hundred Years of Progress: The Record of the Scottish Typographical Association, 1853 to 1952* (Glasgow, Scotland: Robert Maclehose, 1953), xv, 268, printed for the Scottish Typographical Association; A. E. Musson, *The Typographical Association : Origins and History up to 1949* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954); John and Peter Bain Gennard, *A History of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades* (London: Routledge, 1995); and John Gennard, *Mechanical to Digital Printing in Scotland: The Print Employers' Organisation* (Edinburgh: Scottish Printing Archival Trust, 2010).

(6.) Patrick Duffy, *The Skilled Compositor, 1850-1914* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), 12.

(7.) Aileen Fyfe, "Steam and the Landscape of Knowledge: W & R Chambers in the 1830s-1850s," in *Geographies of the Book*, ed. M. Ogborn and C. Withers (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010).

(8.) Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

(9.) Gillespie, *A Hundred Years of Progress*, 54-55, 233; Arthur Marsh and John B. Smethurst, *Historical Directory of Trade Unions*. vol. 5, *Including Unions in Printing and Publishing, Local Government, Retail and Distribution, Domestic Services, General Employment, Financial Services, Agriculture* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 93-94.

(10.) Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991), 7-9.

(11.) Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930*, 7-9.

(12.) Dudley Baines, "European Emigration, 1815-1930: Looking at the Emigration Decision Again," *Economic History Review* 47, no. 3 (August 1994): 525.

(13.) Donald Denoon, *Settler Capitalism: The Dynamics of Dependent Development in the Southern Hemisphere* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

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- (14.) John Edward Hicks, *Adventures of a Tramp Printer, 1880-1890* (Kansas City, MO: Midamericana Press, 1950), 17.
- (15.) Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *Industrial Democracy* (London: Longman, Green, 1897), 465.
- (16.) William S. Pretzer, "Tramp Printers: Craft Culture, Trade Unions, and Technology," *Printing History: The Journal of the American Printing History Association* 6, no. 2 (1984): 3.
- (17.) Pretzer, "Tramp Printers," 3.
- (18.) Gillespie, *A Hundred Years of Progress*, 24-25.
- (19.) Gillespie, *A Hundred Years of Progress*, 25.
- (20.) J. H. Richards, "Social and Economic Aspects of Combination in the Printing Trade before 1875" (Liverpool, UK: University of Liverpool, 1957), 90-91. Tabulating data from the Glasgow Society accounts, Richards concludes that of the total expended by the Society during that period (£114.5.1), £42 went toward leaving town allowances, £34.13.6 to tramping relief, £6.8.0 to grants of various kinds, and £31.3.7 to other expenses.
- (21.) Richards, "Social and Economic Aspects," 158.
- (22.) Richards, "Social and Economic Aspects," 170.
- (23.) See Toronto Typographical Union, "Minute Books, 1859-1871, Toronto Typographical Union (Local 91)," ed. Archives of Ontario (Toronto: Archives of Ontario, 1978). John Laird is noted in the 1861 census of Canada as living in a household with his brother, 26-year-old Robert Laird, employed as a gilder, Margaret, a 71-year-old widow (possibly his mother), and possibly a widowed sister. In 1871, John Laird is listed as part of a household that includes his brother, sister-in-law, and his nephew, with his occupation listed as picture framer. In 1877, John Laird (listed as gilder) married Jane Best. The 1881 and 1891 census returns list Laird as a gilder (1881) and then a picture framer (1891). Data from "Censuses," Library and Archives Canada, Government of Canada.
- (24.) "Account Books, 1908-1909, Toronto Typographical Union (Local 91)," ed. Archives of Ontario (Toronto: Archives of Ontario, 1978).
- (25.) "Account Books, 1908-1909, Toronto Typographical Union (Local 91)."
- (26.) Helen Williams, "Regional Print Economies in 19th-Century Scotland" (PhD diss., Edinburgh Napier University, 2018).
- (27.) Williams, "Regional Print Economies in 19th-Century Scotland."



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(28.) "Edinburgh Typographical Society Minute Books," in *Edinburgh Typographical Society Records* (National Library of Scotland).

(29.) Alexander Smart, "The Flight of Time," *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, January 4, 1851.

(30.) Pagan must have returned to Glasgow at some point over the coming year, as he is recorded in the Glasgow membership records as leaving on April 15, 1861, then reentering the rolls in March of 1862 as an employee of the *Daily Herald*. He would feature on and off over the coming decades in the Glasgow records until October 1880, when the membership lists note him as "dead." See "Glasgow Typographical Association Membership Lists," in *Glasgow Typographical Association Records* (Glasgow, Scotland: Strathclyde University Archives).

(31.) "Edinburgh Typographical Society Minute Books," vol. 1, 1848-1856, February 1, 1865.

(32.) "Edinburgh Typographical Society Minute Books," vol. 1, 1848-1856, July 21, August 3, 1853.

(33.) "Edinburgh Typographical Society Minute Books," vol. 1, 1848-1856, September 4, 1853.

(34.) Gillespie, *A Hundred Years of Progress*, 248-255.

(35.) "The Late George Mackay," *Scottish Typographical Circular* 99, no. 1 (1869).

(36.) "Edinburgh Typographical Society Contributor Records, 1861-1900."

(37.) "Classified Ad 94," *The Scotsman*, March 27, 1861.

(38.) "Edinburgh Typographical Society Contributor Records, 1861-1900."

(39.) "John Wilson Dead," *Cambridge Tribune* 26, no. 11 (1903).

(40.) Denoon, *Settler Capitalism*.

(41.) "Memories of the Tuapeka Times," *Tuapeka Times*, February 4, 1905.

(42.) "New Zealand," *Scottish Typographical Circular* Third Series, 2, no. 62 (1866).

(43.) "New Zealand," *Scottish Typographical Circular*.

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(45.) "The Tuapeka Times," *The Tuapeka Times*, February 15, 1868.

(46.) "The Tuapeka Times," *The Tuapeka Times*.

(47.) "Memories of the Tuapeka Times."

(48.) "Memories of the Tuapeka Times."

(49.) "Tuapeka Times' General Printing Office," *Tuapeka Times*, February 15, 1868.

(50.) See "Dissolution of Partnership," *Tuapeka Times*, June 23, 1870; and "Dissolution of Partnership," *Tuapeka Times*, December 28, 1871.

(51.) Information about the early history of Lawrence can be found in Margaret Allen Jennings, "The History of Lawrence, Otago, New Zealand, from Earliest Times to 1921, Including a Review of Its Future Prospects" (master's thesis, Canterbury University College, 1921).

(52.) Denoon, *Settler Capitalism*, 73-74.

(53.) "Memories of the Tuapeka Times."

(54.) "Memories of the Tuapeka Times"; and "Social Gathering," *Tuapeka Times*, February 22, 1882.

(55.) "Social Gathering."

(56.) "Telegrams," *Clutha Leader*, July 23, 1874; "Local Intelligence," *Tuapeka Times*, March 4, 1874; "Jottings from Lawrence," *Lake Wakatip Mail*, August 4, 1874; "Building Society Meeting," *Tuapeka Times*, September 11, 1875; "Supreme Court. -in Banco," *Tuapeka Times*, April 13, 1878; and "The New Zealand Gazette," *Otago Daily Times*, June 21, 1879.

(57.) "Lawrence Revisited, after an Absence of Thirty Five Years," *Tuapeka Times*, December 8, 1917. William Epps (1862-1946) would later work for newspapers in Melbourne and Sydney, act as secretary of the Australasian National League, and serve for thirty years (1902-1932) as Secretary of the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital in Sydney, Australia ("Mr William Epps. Presentation by Hospital Staff," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 16, 1932; "Presentation to Retiring Hospital Secretary," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 16, 1932; "Deaths," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 17, 1946; and "Try to Live to 150 Ends at 83," *Sunday Mail*, July 14, 1946.

(58.) "Through Our Exchanges," *Bruce Herald*, August 1, 1882.

(59.) A brief biographical description of Fergusson can be found in William Pike, ed., *A Dictionary Of Edwardian Biography: Edinburgh and the Lothians* (Edinburgh: Peter Bell, 1983) 259.

(60.) Neville Kirk, *Comrades and Cousins: Globalization, Workers and Labour Movements in Britain, the USA and Australia from the 1880s to 1914* (London: Merlin, 2003), 112.

(61.) "The M.T.S. Organiser," *The Australasian Typographical Journal*, October 7, 1909.

(62.) "Edinburgh Typographical Society Contributor Records, 1861-1900."

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(63.) "The M.T.S. Organiser"; and R. T. Fitzgerald, *The Printers of Melbourne: The History of a Union* (Melbourne: Pitman, 1967), 99.

(64.) "The M.T.S. Organiser."

(65.) James Hagan, *Printers and Politics: A History of the Australian Printing Unions, 1850-1950* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1966), 149; and Fitzgerald, *The Printers of Melbourne*, 99, 115.

(66.) Hagan, *Printers and Politics*, 344.

(67.) Quoted in Kirk, *Comrades and Cousins*, 114.

(68.) Kirk, *Comrades and Cousins*, 114.

(69.) Quoted in Kirk, *Comrades and Cousins*.

(70.) Hagan, *Printers and Politics*, 35.

(71.) Musson, *The Typographical Association*, 279.

(72.) Useful exemplars include A. J. Downes, *Printers' Saga, Being a History of the South African Typographical Union* (Johannesburg: South African Typographical Union, 1952); Elaine N. Katz, *A Trade Union Aristocracy: A History of the White Workers in the Transvaal and the General Strike of 1913* (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand, 1976); Gregory S. Kealey, "'The Honest Workingman' and Workers' Control: The Experience of Toronto Skilled Workers, 1860-1892," *Labour/Le Travail* 1 (1976); Gregory S. Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Lipset, Trow, and Coleman, *Union Democracy*; and Steinberg, *Moral Communities*.

(73.) Examples include union histories such as Sarah C. Gillespie, *A Hundred Years of Progress*; A. E. Musson, *The Typographical Association: Origins and History up to 1949*; John and Peter Bain Gennard, *A History of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades*; and John Gennard, *Mechanical to Digital Printing in Scotland*.

(74.) Duffy, *The Skilled Compositor, 1850-1914*, 12.

(75.) Quoted in Duffy, *The Skilled Compositor, 1850-1914*, 12.

(76.) Gary Marks, "Variations in Union Political Activity in the United States, Britain, and Germany from the Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Politics* 22, no. 1 (1989). See, in particular, chap. 4, "Printing Unions and Business Unionism," in *Union in Politics: Britain, Germany, and the United States in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 120-154; Mark D. Steinberg, "Culture and Class in a Russian Industry: The Printers of St. Petersburg, 1860-1905," *Journal of Social History* 23, no. 3 (1990): 513-533; and Steinberg, *Moral Communities*.

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(77.) Such sidelining can be seen in the following examples, outstandingly comprehensive though many of them have been in other ways: Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); the *Print Networks* series issued by Oak Knoll Press and the British Library.

(78.) Isabel Hofmeyr, *Gandhi's Printing Press: Experiments in Slow Reading* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); and Sian Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters*, ed. Colin Bell, Edinburgh Education & Society Series (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989).

(79.) Aileen Fyfe, "Steam and the Landscape of Knowledge: W & R Chambers in the 1830s-1850s."

**David Finkelstein**

University of Edinburgh

